288 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowl-
177 edge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware
323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and
411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only
224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet
227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs,
411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were
501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat-sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their
556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbar-
119 ism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little.
181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

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[286] [4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importation of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped, dogs played an important economic role. These dogs were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat and skin clothing during the winters. These people were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, influenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth. At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities. small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade. With these goods as a medium of exchange they began to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords. lacquer and ornaments from Japan. and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes

——— In lieu of The death penalty

[18] Takakura Shinichirô, Ainu no nôgyô (Ainu agriculture), *Nôgyô Keizai Kenkyû* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsô, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyûdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kôhô*, No. 42.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
AF *175 *648 439 436
AF *175 *648 226 177
A [501]
AF *175 *648 251 177 439
A [227]

chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.[22] The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.[23] Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.[24] Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.[25] Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.[26] Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.[27] The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading [28] but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,[29] while herring,

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[22] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

[23] *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arahama hikei ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokuetsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

[24] Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

[26] "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki.*

[27] Takakura Shinichirō, Fūdo Yūranshū (Account of a sightseeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

[28] *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

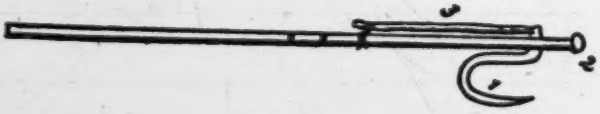
[29] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LI

ON CATCHING FISH

The Ainu were formerly great fish eaters; in fact, fish was their staple food—their "staff of life." The general name for "fish" is *chep*, sometimes heard as *chi-ep*, and this means "what we eat." The large autumn salmon, which they call *shibe*, is a very fine fish and sometimes goes up in weight to 40 pounds. It used to be very plentiful. The summer salmon, which enters the rivers in June, was also much eaten and was also very plentiful during the season. The fish were taken sometimes by netting and sometimes by spearing, and, during the winter months, with hook and line dangled through holes made in the ice. Both along the sea coasts and the banks of rivers, the men set torches to attract the fish during the night and also held some torches over the holes in the ice. In this way they took many.



A MAPUK OR FISH SPEAR

No. (1) is the iron hook. It is so fixed to the end of the shaft (2) that when a fish is struck with it the point enters the flesh and is drawn over. The more the creature struggles, the tighter the hook holds. No. (3) is the skin thong which fixes the hook to the shaft.

Fishing along the shallow places of the sea coast in the north was extremely interesting when trained dogs were used. The process was as follows. Several

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 231 men would start off with 20 or 30 dogs and march along the sandy bays where there were shallows. As soon as they reached the place agreed upon, they would come to a halt. Half the men and dogs would then move along the water's edge for about 200 yards, the other half remaining.

Then at a signal the dogs were started from their respective points and caused to swim straight out to seaward in single file in two columns. At a sharp, loud call from all the Ainu in unison, the right column wheeled left and the left column wheeled right until the heads of both columns met. Then at another loud cry they all swam toward the shore in crescent formation. As they neared the shore, the increasing numbers of fish could be seen in the shallows, frightened forward by the splashing of the dogs following them.

As soon as the dogs found the bottom they pounced upon the fish like a flash of lightning. Many of the fish jumped ashore, pressed by the shoal which was urged along by the well-trained dogs. Every dog which caught a fish carried it to his master and would hand it over to him and to no one else. When received, the master would cut off its head at once and give it to his dog, for this was recognized both by man and dog alike as his special portion. The poor animal which [178] brought in no fish went home supperless. Such fishing, however, is now a thing of the past.

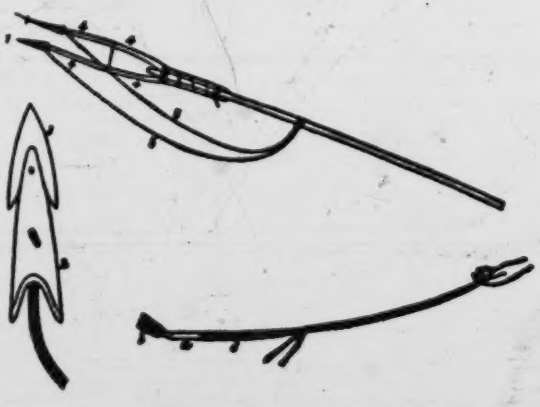
226 227 The people used to make a kind of fish trap they called an *urai*. These were generally placed across the rivers near the various tributaries. They were made of stakes driven into the river bed, the spaces between the stakes being filled in with a kind of wickerwork. This served as a fence to keep the fish from passing. The traps were made in the shape of an arrowhead, and always pointed down-stream. At the end, or point, of the arrow-head a doorway was made, and a kind of net, which was made to slip up and down

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

at will, was fitted into it, while over the top was a platform upon which the fisherman sat. The top bar of the net was allowed to rest in a notch left in the door-posts for its reception, while the bottom part, to which the handle was attached, rested upon the bed of the river. As soon as a fish was known to have entered the net, the man upon the platform drew the lower portion of the net up till it met the upper, and thus the fish was caught. Various other little wicker-work traps were baited and placed along the streams for the smaller fry.

The fisherman always had a thick stick of willow by his side, which was called "head-striking-stick," and with this he killed his catch. He did so by knocking it on its head. Penri told me that these fish liked being struck on the head and thus killed. It was the universal orthodox way of "sending the divine creature away." Having been thus "sent off" to their ancestors and their flesh having been disposed of, they would return later to be caught and killed again.

The handle of a spear used to catch pike is about eight or nine feet long, and when fitted up, ready for use, it is fully ten feet in length. As will be seen from



SPEAR FOR TAKING FISH

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 the figure (1), this spear has two heads to it, which
227 are fastened to the pole by means of string. These heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is secured by means of the strings (5) which are attached to the spear-heads and back part of the shaft or pole. Figure (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the bottom of the river. This bait is nothing but a piece of iron wrapped up in blue material bound on with white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone (*a*), two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (*b*) made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The fish are speared whilst following this bait.

Trout and pike were caught with a spear having two heads to it, such as is also used in harpooning sharks, whales, swordfish and sea animals. But those used for river fishing had decoy or bait attached to them, which was drawn along the bottom of the streams and rivers, and which the fish would some times follow and so be caught.

778 Some of the heads of the salmon were cut off and
782 fetishes offered them, the killing-sticks also coming
226 in for their share of the worship. I was informed, however, that some of these fish were looked upon as evil witches, but I think this particularly applied to such of the old ones as had lived their day and were shedding their scales immediately before death. They were named *tenki-sei-chep*, which Penri said meant "small-pox fish," and might not be eaten.

226 During their season large numbers of salmon used
251 to be taken. Some of them were carried into the
262 houses fresh and hung up on the rafters where they were well smoked. Those taken in the winter were tied in pairs and slung over poles to freeze. Some of those caught during the bright warm weather of sum-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126
291

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with cotton yarn. Lined with white cotton cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150645

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese white striped cotton cloth bound with blue-black and embroidered on the latter with light-blue yarn. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150646

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound with Japanese black cotton cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150647

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, embroidered with cotton. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150648

Leggins.—"Hos." Made of Japanese cotton cloth, embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150649

126
[283]

Ball of Ohiyo thread.—Made by splitting the bark of the elm tree, *Ulmus montana*, and tying the ends of the filaments together. Used for weaving cloth for coats, leggins, belts, etc. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150650

Braided cord.—Made of the bark of shiua-no-ki, *Tilia cordata*. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150651

Bark.—Called tamunki-no-kawa. Apparently it is the common ohiyo bark. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150652

[386]

Dyed bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata* (Jap. shina-no-ki). Much used for the colored parts of mats, carrying bags, etc. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water with bark of *Æsculus turbinata*, the black in the same manner with *Alnus maritima*. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150653

Linden bark.—Bark of *Tilia cordata*. Much used for cords, fish nets, etc., and for the colored parts of mats. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150654

Branches of the Linden.—The wood from which the bark is stripped for making cords, etc. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150655

[415]

Straw bag.—A small bag, about 12 inches by 9, very rudely made. Used for gathering roots and other articles for food. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150656

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus maritimus*, the top bound with blue and white cotton cloth, of which the handle is also made. About 6 inches square. Ainos of Uragawa, Yezo, 1888. 150657

Ohiyo branches.—Small branches of the ohiyo tree, *Ulmus montana*, the bark of which is used for making the native cloth. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150658

[291]

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, patterned after the Japanese. Made of ohiyo, elm-bark cloth, bound all around with blue-black Japanese cotton cloth. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150659

Ohiyo coat.—Similar to 150659. The cloth has narrow longitudinal stripes of white cotton yarn. Not embroidered. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150660

Ohiyo coat.—The usual form of garment, elaborately embroidered in characteristic patterns. The body of the garment is made of elm-bark cloth, over which Japanese blue-black cotton is stitched in parts, and on this the pattern is embroidered. Such coats are only worn on special occasions. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150661

[227]

Fish spear.—A small spear with the shaft cut short. A curved, hook-like piece of iron fits loosely in the side of the shaft, attached to a cord which passes through the shaft, near the end. When a fish is struck the iron turns over, hooks into the flesh, and hangs by the rope. Ainos of Piratori, 1888. (See Fig. 85.) 150662

[415]

Saké cup, stand, and stick.—Made of lacquered wood by the Japanese. A form in universal use among the Ainos for drinking Japanese saké, of which they drink great quantities whenever they can get it. The stick resting on top of the cup (150664) is used to throw drops of the liquor as offerings to the gods, and to raise the moustache while drinking. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150663

[413]

Moustache stick.—Used to make libations of saké to the gods, and also to raise the moustache while drinking saké. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. (See Fig. 77.) 150664

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKORETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

[1] [i.e., the Tokachi River region --Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *Uparpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

III

FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES

So much has been written about the gathering devices and techniques of the Ainu that it is all but impossible to enumerate individual writings on the subject. Comprehensive articles have been published in particular by HITCHCOOK (1891), MONTANDON (1937) and NATORI (1945, pp. 135-212). However, they have all followed the morphological or typological approach to the so-called 'material culture' study, devoting most of their studies to such items as the bow and arrow and the salmon spear to the exclusion of such important items as the fishing trap and the fishing net. In short, little attempt has been made to describe or analyse the Ainu system of interrelated food-getting devices, techniques and activities, the elucidation of which system forms the chief object of the present chapter. While dealing with those latter items as well, it leaves out much about their technological details. It will be seen that a greater importance is attached to the essential structure, mechanism and use of those Ainu implements in relation to their activities whereby they adapt themselves to their habitat, and to the organization of those activities.

One of the basic problems in ecology is the periodicity of community activities. In this chapter, the time of the beginning or end of each seasonal activity of the Ainu will be referred to by the Ainu month and/or the solar calendar month[a]. However, what is important in this paper is not the time itself but the degree and nature of correlation between the periodicity in Ainu activities and that in the phenomena in their habitat. To examine this, data concerning ecology and ethology of biotic species are indispensable, the most important of which are given in the notes of this chapter.

Fishing Devices.

The Fish-spear.

The fish-spear, *marek*, is a long wooden shaft, with a flexible iron prong so fixed to the end that the point may be hooked to prevent the fish caught from falling off in bringing it up (Fig. 2, a). The spear was classified into two types: those with a large hook, *shiipe koiki marek*, used for such larger fishes as dog salmon and Hucho perryi, and those with a smaller one, *ichaniu* (or *ichanui*) *koiki marek*, for such fishes as cherry salmon and dace. Both were used alike by the fisherman either standing in a dugout, on the bank or in the stream, or sitting in the peep-fishing hut, *worun chise* (Fig. 2, b). Night spearing was accompanied with a torch for illumination. Torch-light

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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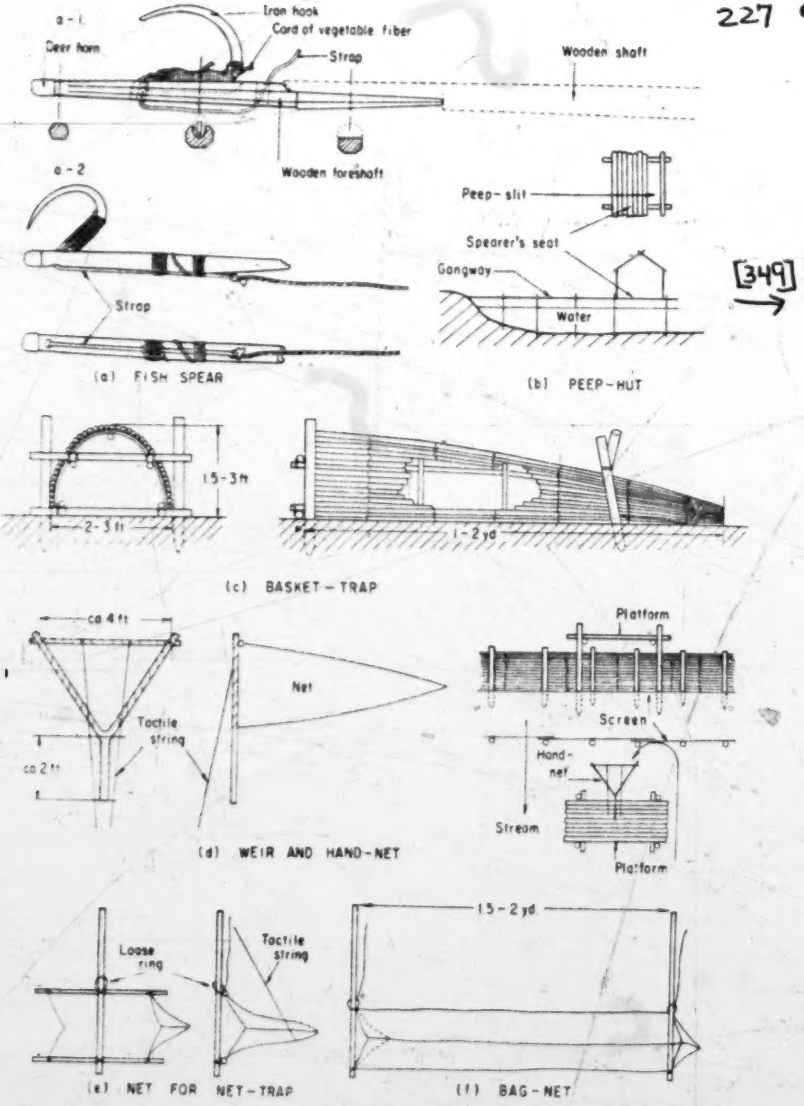

[349]

Fig. 2. Fishing gears. (a), 1-2, Tokyo University Anthropological Institute Collection. (b)-(f), reconstructed on the basis of the data from the Ainu informants.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 spearing, *shune marek*, as described later was in active use for the capture
227 of salmon coming together in spawning grounds. The use of the *marek* was,
[562] though not invariably, confined to men. Taboo was placed specifically on use by women at the named spawning grounds of dog salmon controlled by the male members of the local group. The *marek* was as important a fishing implement to men as the basket-trap, *urai*, was to women. What characterized the former as distinct from the latter was that with it any sort of fish could be captured: fresh-run brisk salmon still untinged for spawning, salmon ready to spawn or under spawning activities, or the fish in hiding in the daytime or in activity in the night. In the use of the spear skill played a greater part than with the *urai* and other kinds of fishing gear. It seems that as a result the amount of catch differed considerably with different persons. It is said that the catch in one night varied from 10-15 at the minimum to 40-50 at the very maximum. It was to supplement the catch with the *marek* by each family that the fish-trap, *urai*, was used.

226 The Torch.
227 The period from mid- or late November, when silvery salmon appeared
416 in the rivers, to the middle or end of December, when the fish had finished
[221] running, was the later salmon season. During this period the Ainu manipulated the *marek* by night with the aid of torch lights, *shune*. Torch-light spearing was more effective at and about the spawning areas where the sal-
[324] mon came together. The torch employed for the purpose was made of a
226 bundle of dried Miscanthus or of strips of dried birch bark. Among the Ainu
[501] on the lower course of the Tokapchi as well as those on the Azuma, the Mukawa and the Saru, torch-light fishing in a dugout was usually conducted by a team of three—the spearer, *naniun*, at the bow, the pole-operator, *umun*, at the stern, and the torch-holder, *shuneani*, standing between. When not going by dugout as on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the team would consist of the spearer and the torch-holder. The torch-holder and the pole-
[462] operator were by custom female, each team generally being formed by members of the same family.

226 The Peep-fishing Hut.
349 The peep-fishing hut, *worun chise*, was a simple construction erected on
[462] piles over the stream, linked with the bank by means of a gangway (Fig. 2,
[824] b). It was used by a single male, who sat in it and speared with the *marek*. The walls and the roofing were of butter-bur leaves or other leafy twigs, and part of the floor was cut open for the fisherman to peep through. The hut was built over the run, *pet netoba*, about the spot where ascending fish were in the habit of halting, *chep kusushi*. The same hut was used for dog salmon and cherry salmon alike. Peep-fishing was well adapted to the habit of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known to the Ainu Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream. In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams. In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek* by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

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226 227 average number being one or two. To the Ainu the *urai* was the commonest and most essential of fishing gear second to the *marek* in importance.

The Weir.

The weir, *tesh*, was made of a wattle-work screen tied to a row of wooden piles driven across the streams (Fig. 2, d). By this means the Ainu intercepted ascending cherry salmon and, in some cases, dace. The *tesh* was the chief fishing device indispensable in particular for catching ascending cherry salmon. By custom one end of the weir was always left open so as not to shut the entire passage to the fish. Close below lay one or two platforms, on each of which stood one Ainu manipulating a small handnet, *tesh koru ya* or *pon. ya*, and caught fish turning back from the weir. The *tesh* was set in a wadable shallow in the way of run, usually the deeper and slower of the [476] streams devided by shoals in the main stream, *pet netoba*. The device was generally used by night when the fish made their way upstream intensively. It was prepared and constructed either by two or three families working [462] together or by a single family. The wattle work for the screen by women and its setting up by men were directed by some able member of the *tesh*-group (p. 59, the chart), usually an elderly male.

The Bag-net.

The net, *yaroshiki ya*, was a rectangular bag-net with a handle attached at each end (Fig. 2, f). Nets of the same name and similar shape were used for both dog salmon and cherry salmon, but the meshes were coarser in one for dog salmon than for cherry salmon. In operating the bag-net, two operators held it in position by the handle at each end with the mouth turned upstream and caught fish as they were chased in by a driver. The device was used in the daytime around pools, *ooi*, or deposited roots of drift-wood near the spawning grounds, where fish concentrated by day lurking inactive. For dog salmon it was employed in the main streams where there were densely-distributed spawning beds. For cherry salmon it was effectively used also in glens or side streams. Those places exploited with the bag-net were also where the *marek*-spearer worked by day, so that the same daytime spearer served as the driver in the bag-net fishing party.

[476] [592] [824] [476] Bag-net fishing was conducted by a single family or by cooperation of a net-group formed by two or three families usually from one and the same settlement (p. 59, the chart). The net was made of plant fibre. It was used by the members of the group who had made it. When more than one family participated, the team of three necessary for the work was drawn by custom from the different families. When part of the member families used it, the catch was shared by all the member families.

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In practice it was usually women who operated the bag-net. But during the period from the beginning of the dog salmon season to the appearance of *mearun-chep* or silvery salmon, bag-net fishing was under taboo. So also was its use at the spawning grounds themselves that were named and controlled by the local group (pp. 60-62). A net of similar shape but smaller in size, *pon ya*, was used in catching dace and other smaller varieties.

The Net-trap.

This fish-trap, *ya urai*, was made of V-shaped wattle-work fences narrowing downstream with a kind of the bag-net with one handle only, *urai koru ya* (Fig. 2, e), attached to the lower end of the fences. The device was not automatic: it was operated by a single Ainu taking his position on a platform attached to the trap and drawing up the net by the handle on feeling a catch by means of a touch-line connected with the net. The trap was set in a small tributary or one of the streams divided by shoals in the main stream, the same streamway for the basket-trap, to catch dog salmon, cherry salmon and trout all coming down-stream. It was usually operated by night when the fish were astir. The device proved also effective when the rain had swollen the river and made it too muddy for spearing by sight. The net-trap was set only by a few families from a settlement. In the upper Tokapchi area it was used in smaller tributaries chiefly for catching trout which came gathering to eat the eggs of cherry salmon and it was thought difficult to haul with other devices at their command; there is however no trace of it being ever used for dog-salmon as was in the Azuma area. Those families possessing a net-trap not only used it for themselves but invited other families in the settlement to use it.

The Trawling-net.

A net similar in shape and size to the bag-net, *yash ya*, was used by some groups for trawling the varieties of salmon (Fig. 2, f). Two operators in a pair of dugouts stood at each bow with the trawling net held by each handle and dragged it along as the boats floated down to catch fish running upstream. The trawling was practised more actively during the night when the fish ran in shoals. This method of fishing required that the streams should be sufficiently wide and without many hazards to the net like drifted roots deposited in the streams, so that its practice was limited to specific areas in the main stream along which the settlements were located. The groups living upstream on the Tokapchi and all the Otopuke groups never used trawling-nets. Somehow, it was not their custom to use even dugouts for fishing purposes at ordinary times; to them the craft was chiefly for traffic. The same groups that did not practise trawling were also without the meshing-net, *chama ya*,

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which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass technique. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

The Meshing-net.

This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

Spring Fishing.

With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

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known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

(53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, however, the practice of sea-fishing.

Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

Yanke tomari and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the